

## Message Text

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44

ACTION SS-25

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----- 120352

R 091229Z FEB 76

FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5517

INFO AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY LOURENCO MARQUES

S E C R E T TEHRAN 1348

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, MPOS, SF, RH, AO

SUBJECT: VIEWS ON ANGOLA AND RHODESIA

1. DURING LUNCHEON TALK FEBRUARY 9, GLEANED FOLLOWING VIEWS  
ON ANGOLA AND RHODESIA FROM GENERAL ALAN FRASER, SOUTH  
AFRICAN CONSUL GENERAL(READ AMBASSADOR) IN TEHRAN AND  
FORMER NOU  
W IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN DEFENSE FORCE FOR 7 OR 8  
YEARS PRIOR TO HIS POSTING HERE IN MID-1973. RECOGNIZE  
THAT WHAT FOLLOWS MAY BE STRICTLY COALS TO NEWCASTLY  
BUT PASS IT ALNOG FOR WHAT IT MAY BE WORTH.

2. GENERAL FRASER SAID THAT HE HAD MADE MANY TRIPS TO  
ANGOLA WHEN HE WAS IN CHARGE OF OPERATIONS IN THE SOUTH  
AFRICAN DEFENSE FORCE. HE WAS CRITICAL OF MINISTER OF  
DEFENSE BOTHA FOR NOT USING THE 700-MAN BATTALION WHICH  
WAS ON OFFENSIVE OPERATIONS IN ANGOLA WHEN THE SITUATION  
HEATED UP SOME WEEKS AGO. IT IS FRASER'S OPINION  
BOTHA SHOULD HAVE WITHDRAWN THE BATTALION BEFORE HOSTILITIES  
STARTED OR SHOULD HAVE ISSUED INSTRUCTIONS "TO WIN". THE  
BATTALION HAS NOW BEEN WITHDRAWN INTO UNITA TERRITORY  
ALONG THE ANGOL/NAMIBIA BORDER. THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT  
IS SENDING AN ARMY DIVISION (APPROXIMATELY 15,000 MEN) TO

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THE SAME AREA NOT ONLY TO PROTECT THE BORDER BUT ALSO TO

PROVIDE SANCTUARY AND SOME SPINE TO THE UNITA FORCES. THE SOUTH AFRICAN DEFENSE FORCE IS HAVING A ROUGH TIME TRANSPORTING THESE MEN AND EQUIPMENT OVER THIS LARGE DISTANCE WITH A SMALL, OVERWORKED AIR FORCE. IT IS GENERAL FRASER'S BELIEF THAT AT THIS STAGE THERE IS NOTHING FOR THE SOUTH AFRICANS TO DO MILITARILY EXCEPT WAIT. HE BELIEVES THAT EVENTUALLY THE RUSSIANS AND CUBANS WILL BE LARGELY WITHDRAWN AND AT THAT TIME THE UNITA AND THE FNLA FORCES CAN MOVE OUT AGAIN TO RESUME GUERRILLA WARFARE AGAINST THE MPLA. HE FORESEES A PERIOD OF INTERNAL BLOODSHED AFTER THE FOREIGN FORCES ARE PULLED OUT. GENERAL FRASER EMPHASIZED THAT EVEN AFTER 500 YEARS OF CONTROL THE PORTUGUESE DID LITTLE TO DEVELOP COMMUNICATIONS INSIDE ANGOLA. ROADS, TO THE EXTENT THAT THEY EXIST, ARE VERY ROUGH, DISTANCES ARE GREAT, AND THE POLICING OF THE AREA WOULD REQUIRE MORE MAN-POWER THAN EVEN THE RUSSIANS AND CUBANS NOW HAVE IN ANGOLA. MEANWHILE, THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT IS DOING ITS BEST TO DIVIDE BLACK AFRICA ON THE ISSUE OF FOREIGN INTRUSION INTO ANGOLA. THE RECENT MEETING OF THE FOUR CHIEFS OF STATE UNDER PRESIDENT KAUNDA IS A MANIFESTATION OF THIS EFFORT, HE CLAIMS.

3. HAVING RETURNED FROM LEAVE IN SOUTH AFRICA QUITE RECENTLY, GENERAL FRASER APPEARS TO HAVE INFORMATION THAT RHODESIAN PRIME MINISTER SMITH WILL FINALLY AGREE TO SOME FORM OF "CONDITIONAL FRANCHISE" IN HIS NEGOTIATIONS WITH ANC LEADER NKOMO. SOUTH AFRICAN PRIME MINISTER VORSTER CONTINUES TO DO EVERYTHING HE CAN TO CREATE AN APPROPRIATE CLIMATE FOR SUCH AN OUTCOME. THE SOUTH AFRICANS APPARENTLY FEEL THAT SUCH AN AGREEMENT BY SMITH WOULD SOLVE MANY OF THEIR PROBLEMS FOR A LONG TIME TO COME. GRANTED THAT SUCH A DEVELOPMENT MIGHT BE SOMEWHAT EMBARRASSING FOR SOUTH AFRICA WHICH HAS NOT DONE AS MUCH FOR ITS BLACKS, FRASER CONTENDED THAT IT WAS HIGH TIME SOUTH AFRICA GOT AROUND TO IT AS WELL. FRASER EMPHASIZED PARTICULARLY THAT "CONDITIONAL FRANCHISE" WOULD PROBABLY SOLVE THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT'S PROBLEM WITH THE FRELIMO AND MOZAMBIQUE, AN EVENTUALITY MUCH TO BE DESIRED BY THE SOUTH AFRICANS SINCE MOZAMBIQUE CONTROLS ABOUT 5 MAJOR POINTS OF PRESSURE ON THE SOUTH AFRICAN ECONOMY. FOR EXAMPLE, FRASER MENTIONED THAT TWO-THIRDS OF THE GOLD AND COAL MINERS IN SOUTH

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AFRICA COME FROM MOZAMBIQUE. HE SPOKE OF THE NEED FOR FREE ACCESS TO MOZAMBIQUE PORTS AND COVERED OTHER RELEVANT ELEMENTS WITH WHICH EXPERTS ARE FAMILIAR. HE DID NOT GIVE HIS REASONS FOR BELIEVING THAT RHODESIAN PRIME MINISTER SMITH WOULD MODERATE HIS STIFF-NECKED POSITION, BUT THERE WAS NO QUESTION IN HIS ATTITUDE THAT HE FELT HE HAD GOOD REASONS FOR HIS CONVICTION ABOUT THE EVENTUAL OUTCOME.

HELMS

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